Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur. When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses. As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately, thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

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762 154 578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 578 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women. The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

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to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister-in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's wife is culturally recognized.[2] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a girl is to have her brother criticize her in public. 593 578 154

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives. [536]

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband. [602]

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother-in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter. [835] [584] [837] 606 837 154

[2] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship. [607]

762 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of
154 strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other
578 frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and
155 sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the
867] family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.